

University of Montana

ScholarWorks at University of Montana

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &
Professional Papers

Graduate School

1993

Urban-rural difference: The effect of place of residence on racial attitudes

Timothy E. Lantz
The University of Montana

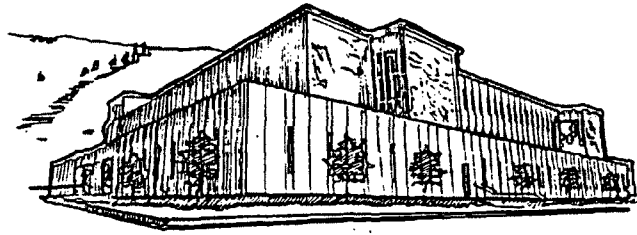
Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Lantz, Timothy E., "Urban-rural difference: The effect of place of residence on racial attitudes" (1993).
Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers. 5395.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/5395>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.



Maureen and Mike
MANSFIELD LIBRARY

Copying allowed as provided under provisions
of the Fair Use Section of the U.S.

COPYRIGHT LAW, 1976.

Any copying for commercial purposes
or financial gain may be undertaken only
with the author's written consent.

University of
Montana

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCE: THE EFFECT OF PLACE OF
RESIDENCE ON RACIAL ATTITUDES

By

Timothy E. Lantz

B.A. University of Delaware, 1988

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements

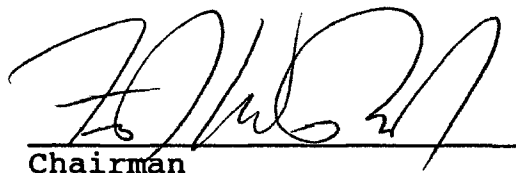
for the degree of

Master of Arts

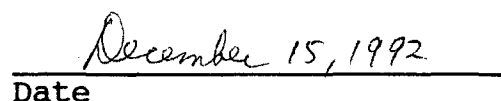
University of Montana

1993

Approved by


Chairman


Dean, Graduate School


Date

UMI Number: EP40859

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP40859

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Lantz, Timothy E., M.A., June, 1992

Sociology

Urban-Rural Differences: The Effect of Place of Residence
on Racial Attitudes (28 pp.)

Chairman: Fred Reed

Urban-rural differences in racial attitudes were explored using General Social Survey data for 1977. Two separate scales were utilized in a series of Analyses of Variance comparing urban residents with rural residents. The old fashioned racism scale measures traditional antipathy towards blacks and pro segregation beliefs. The resistance to action scale measures resistance to activities that would affect the racial status-quo.

Three competing theories explaining urban-rural differences; subcultural, compositional and urban experience, were outlined. An in depth discussion of the urban experience theory was provided and hypothesis drawn from that model were set forth. The analysis included a method by which each theory could be evaluated.

The analysis provided support for both the compositional and the urban experience theories. The results indicate that, while current residence has no significant effect, residence at age sixteen has a real and lasting effect on racial attitudes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Theory and Background	2
Urban-Rural Research	8
Data	11
Procedures	11
Findings	14
Discussion	23
Conclusion	26
Appendix A.	29
References	32

List of Tables

Table 1.	Urban and rural residence	12
Table 2.	Distribution of OFR scale and RES scale for all white respondents	14
Table 3.	Mean scores and significance levels for racial attitude scales by residence	16
Table 4.	Mean scores and significance levels for racial attitude scales by residence with demographic control variables of age, income, region and education	17
Table 5.	Multiple Classification Analysis for the OFR and RES scale using both current residence and residence at sixteen with the demographic control variables	19
Table A1.	Factor loading	31

The urban social environment has been characterized as alienating, autonomous and generally disruptive to social order (Simmel [1905] 1950; Wirth 1938). Also, sociologists have claimed that the modern city has certain positive social psychological effects (Stouffer 1955; Anderson 1962). While these two views are not mutually exclusive, popular American culture has tended to focus on the former rather than the latter. It is the possible existence of the enduring effects of the urban environment on attitudes that guides this investigation.

The question is what, if any, effect does place of residence have on attitudes? This study will explore the relationship between place of residence and attitudes towards minorities. First, what is the effect of the urban experience on racial attitudes¹? Is urban experience a useful concept when discussing racial attitudes? Secondly, how do the effects of current residence on racial attitudes compare with those of residence at an early age? Finally, what is the relative impact of urban residence on racial attitudes compared with the effects of socioeconomic status, age and region? In essence this study asks the question: how important is one aspect of the social environment, namely urban residence, in determining the attitudes majority group members hold regarding minority group members?

¹ While the present study focusses on whites' attitudes towards blacks, the relationship may be generalizable to other minority groups.

Theory and Background

The attitudes of white Americans regarding minorities are complex, and the literature to date does not afford simple delineation. Two important independent dimensions of attitudes towards blacks appear analytically useful for the present study. The first of these dimensions is "old fashioned racism" (OFR) (McCohanay 1976: 1982). This dimension represents pro-segregation beliefs and traditional antipathy toward blacks. Sociologists exploring this dimension have employed terms such as prejudice, racial affect and anti-black feelings (Condran 1979; Firebaugh and Davis 1988). The second dimension is resistance to action (RES), and represents resistance to intervention to promote equality in such areas as education and housing. Also included in this dimension is the reluctance of individuals to sacrifice or to act on a personal level to promote change. These two dimensions of racial attitudes appear to be both analytically and empirically independent (see appendix A for details on the scales). They also afford a more complete description of how the urban experience affects attitudes than would be obtained using a single indicator.

While many factors are thought to affect racial attitudes, one of major importance is urban life. There are three distinct sociological interpretations regarding the effects of urban and rural residence on attitudes. These three separate theories have been classified by Fischer (1975) as

deterministic, compositional, and subcultural. It is important to outline these three perspectives regarding the urban-rural phenomena because the analysis and discussion that follows will address their basic differences. The theoretical argument presented for this paper represents a synthesis of the deterministic arguments to date and will be referred to as the urban experience.

Louis Wirth is credited with the development of the deterministic theory (1938), but others have modified it over time. Overall, Wirth thought that the size, density, and heterogeneity of modern cities has a direct social psychological effect on urban residents. Although many of the factors of Wirth's "urban Way of Life" are negative (disorganization, alienation and anomie), he also claimed that the urban environment can be liberating and enlightening when compared to the rigid traditionalism of rural communities.

Herbert Gans developed the compositional perspective in his work *Urban Villagers* (1962a) and finalized his argument later that same year (1962b). Gans claims that the apparent differences in attitudes between urban and rural residents can be explained by demographic differences. Urban dwellers tend to have more formal education, be younger, and have higher social status than their rural counterpart. It is the cumulative effect of these variables that affect attitudes and the social psychological effect of urbanism is a spurious relationship.

The subcultural approach as set forth by Fischer (1975) represents a third approach to the issue. Fischer claimed that the concentration of individuals in cities fostered the growth of subcultures. It is more likely that someone with unique tastes will find others with similar tastes in a large city than in a small rural community. In the urban centers these individuals may organize to promote and protect their interests, and the urban environment is characterized by a conglomeration of these independent subcultures interacting with each other. A few of the subcultures will eventually spread their particular deviant ideas throughout a majority of the city population and it will cease to be perceived as deviant. This expansion Fischer called cultural diffusion (1978) and it explains the apparent urban-rural difference in certain attitudes. Gradually, many of these new ideas and tastes are accepted in the rural communities, but since new deviant subcultures are constantly being formed in the urban environment, there will always be an apparent difference.

The Urban Experience

The urban social environment is defined by a number of factors that contrast sharply with rural social environments. For the sake of conceptual clarity, the urban experience can be defined as extended residence in or near a large, densely populated, metropolitan area. This urban experience is contrasted with the extreme opposite: residence in a small,

sparsely populated agrarian community. By highlighting the environmental elements characteristic of the urban experience that are determinants of attitudes, the urban-rural attitudinal difference are likely to be more easily discerned. The first element is intensity of interaction (Simmel [1905] 1950). Simply put, the urban experience is busy. The individual is constantly being bombarded with information, confrontations, and a variety of stimuli that can be defined as "noise." This input needs to be processed by the individual, and this requires a great deal of effort filtering out the meaningful from the "noise." In effect, the urban dweller has to develop psychological mechanisms for protection. These mechanisms lead to the sophisticated attitudes urban dwellers are reported to possess. Also, within this busy social environment, the urban dweller is attempting to express individuality--to be recognized above the din. This activity leads to increasing individuality and freedom. Individuals are constantly attempting new and innovative forms of self expression, and in this environment, tolerance for nonconformity is extensive.

A related argument is associated with variety of interaction (Wirth 1938; Stouffer 1955; Anderson 1962; Fischer 1975). The urban experience is defined by a greater variety of social interaction than the rural experience. The urban dweller is exposed to all the extremes of society: wealth, poverty, power, homelessness, crime, and deviance. Also, the

urban centers allow for access to a great array of the most recent artistic and intellectual endeavors. This exposure to a great variety of interactions is thought to cause the urban dweller to be tolerant of social differences and more willing and adaptable to change. Also, the urban resident is willing to accept new ideas much more quickly than the rural resident (Lerner 1958; Rogers 1962). Finally, the urban experience exposes the individual to vast differences of social status; and, therefore, the individual should be more aware of structural inequities present in society.

A third important aspect of the urban experience is anonymity (Wirth, 1938; Anderson, 1962). Urban dwellers are, for the most part, anonymous as they go about their daily affairs. They interact with a greater number of strangers on a daily basis than do rural residents. On city streets, in restaurants and bars, the urban dweller is forced to interact with strangers. This anonymity can be liberating to the individual. The constraints of the close intimate community are not present, and the individual is able to explore a greater variety of experiences. Without traditional constraints on the utterances and actions of individuals, there exists greater tolerance of differences and freedom for the expression of new ideas.

A factor that is related to anonymity is secondary relationships (Wirth 1938; Anderson 1962). In marked contrast to rural life, the urban experience is dominated by secondary

relationships as opposed to primary relationships. In the urban environment the individual does not owe allegiance to any single group, but instead has a large number of groups competing for his or her loyalty and time. In this sense, the urban dweller is free from the control of any single group, and develops a cosmopolitan and universal outlook.

Finally, the cash nexus in the urban setting frees the urbanite from a focus on personal idiosyncracies such as race (Simmel [1905] 1950). Urban centers have long been the centers of trade and banking; therefore, a great number of urban dwellers are involved in these occupations. Also, the economic transactions that typify the urban experience are between strangers and involve primarily economic motives. These interactions are typified by a certain degree of formalism that is not present in rural economic interactions between members of close communities. The urban dweller is not aware primarily of a person's skin color or ethnicity, the only concern is "How much?" These types of interactions lead urban dwellers to develop a sense of formal justice. Everyone is equal before the dollar; therefore, formal rules of conduct apply to everyone. These formal economic relations also force the urban dweller to develop a more rational perspective on social relationships. The urban dweller applies this rational perspective to the social world as opposed to relying on tradition to explain social relationships.

Taken as a whole, the factors that define the urban

experience are intensity of interaction, variety of interactions, anonymity, dominance of secondary relationships, and the money economy and, are thought to be causally linked to certain attitudes². For whites in contemporary society, the presence of these factors should lead to less prejudiced, more progressive, tolerant and change-oriented responses to all survey questions. When comparing urban residents with rural residents, the urban residents should be considerably less overtly prejudiced, more tolerant, more willing to change, and show greater recognition for the complexities of intergroup relationships.

Urban-Rural Attitude Research

Despite the theoretical arguments just considered, researchers exploring the relationship between urban/rural residence and attitudes report divergent results. Claude Fischer (1971) found that controlling for age, status, and race the apparent relationship between city size and tolerance diminishes to near zero. Also, Wilson (1985) showed a relatively weak relationship between size of present community and tolerance scales compared with the effects of age, sex, education and religion.

² The data afford little opportunity to operationalize the factors of the urban experience directly. See Gutterman (1969) for support of the dominance of secondary relationships in urban areas. See Tittle (1989) for greater anonymity in urban areas than rural areas, and Wilson (1986) for support of the presence of greater heterogeneity in urban areas than rural areas.

Other researches have found a significant relationship between place of residence and attitudes. Samuel Stouffer (1955) found that urban residents were more tolerant than rural residents regarding extending religious and political civil liberties. One study compared occupational groups on a wide range of attitudes (Glenn and Alston 1967). The investigators compared farmers to nonfarmers and concluded that while farmers showed some degree of similarity to unskilled manual laborers, there was considerable difference that could not be explained by age, education, income or religion. Other sociologists have focussed on the population size of current residence. These researchers found significant differences between urban and rural residents attitudes regarding civil rights (Tumin 1958; Nelson and Yokely 1970), conservatism (Willits, Bealer and Crider 1973), tolerance (Abrahamson and Carter 1986), and prejudice (Tuch 1987). The findings suggest that urban residents are more tolerant, less prejudiced and more willing to extend civil rights than rural residents. Also, researchers have considered place of residence during childhood as a measure of the effect of urban and rural environments on early socialization. Stephan and McMullin (1982) found that place of residence at age sixteen is a stronger predictor of tolerance than current residence. Glenn and Hill (1977) found that both current residence and residence at 16 were significant predictors of attitudes ranging from political

conservatism to religious beliefs. Finally, Wilson (1991) constructed a measure of urban residence that incorporated length of residency and migration and found a significant relationship between residence size and tolerance.

One possible reason for the inconsistent findings of previous studies lies in the manner researchers have operationalized urban residence. In contrast to previous work utilizing population size as an interval level variable indicating a linear continuum from urban to rural, the present study eliminates the middle of the population distribution and retains only the largest and smallest populated areas for comparison. The assumption that interval level variables have strong correspondence with conceptual constructs has been criticized by Lewis Carter (Carter 1971). He argued that some concepts, while they appear as numerical categories, should not be operationalized as interval variables because they possess certain values that cause them to have discontinuous effects.

Drawing upon Carter, this study proposes that the factors of the urban experience do not distribute themselves in a linear fashion according to population size. Instead, this study proposes that the factors of the urban experience are absent in small rural communities and present in the largest cities and their suburbs. In order to accentuate the relationship between the urban experience and attitudes, the two extreme types of social environments will be utilized for

comparison.

This study will explore the nature of urban-rural differences with regards to the two dimensions of racial attitudes discussed above (OFR, RES). It is hypothesized that, due to the factors unique to the urban experience, urban residents will be less prejudiced, less resistant to change, and more aware of discrimination than rural residents.

Data

A secondary data source is used, namely the N.O.R.C General Social Survey (GSS) for 1977. These data are appropriate because they offer a wide variety of questions concerning race relations and have been used extensively to explore the urban-rural question (Tuch 1987; Stephan and McMullin 1982; Abrahamson 1986; Wilson 1991). The GSS uses a national probability sample which assures the generality of findings.

Procedures

By comparing urban to rural residents' attitudes, this study will compare the effect of urban experience with the conceptual opposite--rural experience. For this study, urban experience will be defined as residence in the central cities or suburbs of the 12 largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Rural residence is defined by residency in counties having no towns of 10,000 or more. In order to measure the relative effects of residency at an early age and current residency, two independent variables will be used. The first

will measure residence at age 16, and the second will measure current residence. This classification will also allow for a distinction between the subculture perspective and the hypothesis to be examined. It is proposed that the subcultural phenomena should affect only current residence of urban centers and should show little lasting affect. While the urban experience approach, will show a lasting social psychological effect and should affect both current urban residents and those that were urban residents at an early age. These two variables are displayed in table 1.

Table 1. Urban and Rural Residence

	Rural	Urban
Current Residence	Counties having no towns larger than 10,000 N = 260	Central cities or suburbs of the 12 largest SMSAs N = 187
Residence at age 16	In open country or on a farm N = 453	A large city over 250,000 or a suburb of a large city N = 247

Note: Of the 260 current rural residents, 61% (159) of these were also rural residents at age 16. Of the 187 current urban residents, 47% (88) of these were also urban residents at age 16. Also, the GSS data do not have equivalent variables for residency at age 16 and present residency.

In order to operationalize the two elements of racial attitudes two six-point scales were constructed by the author from the GSS data. One scale represents old fashioned racism (OFR) with higher scores indicating a greater degree of racism. The other scale represents resistance to action (RES)

with higher scores indicating a greater degree of resistance to change.

The hypotheses to be tested are as follows:

1. With regards to the OFR scale, urban residents will score lower than rural residents--lower racism.

2. With regards to the RES scale, urban residents will score lower than rural residents--lower resistance.

The analysis for hypotheses one and two will utilize analysis of variance to compare the two groups and determine if the OFR and RES mean scores are significantly different between urban and rural residents. The variables of age, region, income and years of education will be introduced to control for factors that may covary with place of residence and affect racial attitudes³ (Tuch, 1987; Wilson, 1991). The statistical analysis will consist of two separate comparisons for each hypothesis: 1.) Comparing urban residents at age 16 with rural residents at age 16 and 2.) Comparing current urban residents with current rural residents. This form of analysis will allow for the comparison between current urban and rural residence and residence at 16 regarding their effects on racial attitudes. Finally, multiple classification analysis will be used with residence at 16, current residence, region, years of education, age and income as independent variables

³ In order to remain consistent with the logic utilized in operationalizing the urban experience, the control variables have been scaled to reflect meaningful differences between the categories as much as possible.

and the OFR and RES scales as dependent variables. This analysis will allow for the comparison of the relative effects of residency on racial attitudes net of the effects of the control variables.

Findings

The two scales constructed for this study represent two different aspects of whites' attitudes towards blacks with the higher scores representing greater anti-black attitudes or greater antichange attitudes. The two scales are very different in that they measure two distinct factors of racial attitudes (see appendix A), and this difference is shown by their distributions. The means, standard deviation and distributions are presented in table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of OFR scale and RES scale for all white respondents.

	OFR scale	RES scale
VALUE		
0	24.4% (327)	1.7% (23)
1	27.2% (364)	5.1% (68)
2	17.6% (236)	9.5% (127)
3	11.7% (156)	15.5% (207)
4	8.0% (107)	22.0% (295)
5	6.6% (89)	30.9% (414)
6	4.5% (60)	15.3% (205)
Mean	1.89	4.05
Std. Dev.	1.73	1.48
Skewness	.80	-.68

Table 2. illustrates that the distributions for the two scales represent nearly mirror images of one another. OFR has a relatively low mean (1.89) when compared with the mean for RES (4.05). The scales also show opposite skewness. One dramatic measure of how othogonal these two scales' distributions are is found at the extremes. For the OFR scale 51.6 percent of all respondents scored zero or one. While the same two categories only claim 6.8 percent of the total respondents on the RES scale, and the opposite relationship can be seen for the top end of the scales. This essentially restates what other researchers have shown; old fashioned racism has all but disappeared in America, but resistance to change remains strong (Schumann, Steeh and Bobo, 1985).

In order to test the hypotheses drawn from the urban experience argument, and to distinguish among the competing theoretical arguments, the findings consist of the results of three separate analyses of variance. The first compares the mean scores for urban and rural residents on the RES and OFR scales, and is used to determine if any significant differences exist between the groups. Table 3. displays the results for this analysis.

Table 3. Mean scores and significance levels for racial attitude scales by residence.

	Residence at age 16		Current Residence	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
OFR scale	1.50	**	2.41	1.43 ** 2.31
F score		41.6		30.1
mean square		133.7		84.9
df		1		1
RES scale	3.70	**	4.38	3.76 ** 4.23
F score		37.0		11.4
mean square		75.6		23.2
df		1		1

Note: ** represents significance at .005.

Table three clearly illustrates that, without the introduction of control variables, there is a significant difference between urban and rural residents for all the comparisons. Also, the direction of the difference is consistent with the hypotheses that urban residents will display less resistance to change and less racism than rural residents. Finally, although, the differences between the means for residency at 16 (.91 for OFR and .68 for RES) are somewhat greater than the differences for current residence (.88 for OFR and .47 for RES), they are similar in the direction in which they display a difference.

Next, the control variables of age, education, income and region are introduced into the same analysis to control for

the demographic differences as explained by the compositional theory. Table 4. displays the result of this analysis.

Table 4. Mean scores and significance levels for racial attitude scales by residence with demographic control variables of age, income, region and education.

	Residence at age 16		Current Residence	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
OFR scale	1.50	**	2.41	1.43
F score		8.5		2.8
mean square		21.6		6.0
df		1		1
RES scale	3.70	**	4.38	3.76
F score		14.0		.71
mean square		26.4		1.4
df		1		1

Note: ** represents significance at the .005 level.

The most remarkable findings in Table 4. are that the difference between means is no longer significant for current residence, but it remains at the same .005 level for residence at age 16. With the addition of the control variables, the apparent relationship that was evident in Table 3. between current residence and the racial attitude scales disappears.

The final statistical analysis consists of a Multiple Classification Analysis including both current residence, residence at 16 and the control variables. This analysis provides a measure of the relative impact of each of the independent variables on the scales. The adjusted deviation for each variable indicates the impact each has on the grand

mean independent of the other variables in real terms. Also, included is a standardized beta which allows for the comparison among the variables. Table 5. shows the results of the multiple classification analysis.

Table 5. Results of the Multiple Classification Analysis predicting scores on resistance to action scale (RES) and old fashioned racism scale (OFR).

	OFR scale	RES scale
Grand Mean	1.89	4.05
	Adjusted deviation (n)	Adjusted deviation (n)
RES16		
Urban	-.27 (226)	-.30 (226)
Rural	.15 (426)	.16 (426)
beta	.11	.15
Current Residence		
Urban	-.14 (172)	-.06 (172)
Rural	.10 (238)	.04 (238)
beta	.07	.04
Region		
South	.79 (107)	.41 (107)
Nonsouth	-.28 (303)	-.14 (303)
beta	.22	.17
Education		
0 - 11 years	.33 (158)	.07 (158)
12 - 15 years	-.05 (191)	.13 (191)
16 and up	-.70 (61)	-.57 (61)
beta	.20	.17
Age		
10 - 29	-.66 (101)	-.57 (101)
30 - 59	-.02 (226)	.11 (226)
60 and up	.90 (83)	.39 (83)
beta	.28	.24
Income		
Less than 10,000	.08 (144)	-.07 (144)
10,000 - 19,999	-.01 (148)	.04 (148)
More than 20,000	-.09 (118)	.03 (118)
beta	.04	.03
	R ² .244	R ² .149

Region, age, education and residence at 16 showed significant differences between means (all were significant at the .005 level), but income and current residence did not; this is reflected in the MCA table. On the whole, the direction and effect of the independent variables appears to be consistent with the findings of previous researchers (Taylor, Sheatsley and Greeley; 1978 Tuch, 1987; Case; 1989).

Region shows a marked difference, with Southern residence producing a positive change in the mean (0.77 for OFR and 0.41 for RES) and nonsouthern showing a negative change (-0.28 for OFR and -0.14 for RES). This demonstrates that southerners display both greater degrees of overt racist attitudes and resistance to change than Northerners because higher scores on the scales mean more overt anti-black attitudes (OFR) and greater resistance to change (RES). Education is equally as dramatic, with 0 to 11 years of education and 16 or more years having the greatest impact on both scales. The lower education showed a positive increment for OFR (0.33) and a positive 0.07 for RES. The highest educated group showed a negative 0.70 on OFR and a negative 0.57 on RES. It's interesting to note that the education group of 12 to 15 years showed a very slight negative effect on the mean for OFR (-0.05), but a higher positive effect for RES (0.13). These results are surprising in that it was assumed that both high school and up to three years of college would affect both scales negatively. Apparently, finishing high school or

attending college for a few years does not have a strong liberalizing or progressive effect on racial attitudes.

A similar phenomenon occurs with regard to age. The middle age group, 30 to 59, showed virtually no effect on OFR (0.01) and only a slight effect on RES (0.11). The younger group, age 10 to 29, showed a negative (- 0.66) for OFR and a negative (- 0.33) for RES. The older group, age 60 and up, showed a positive 0.90 for OFR and a positive 0.39 for RES.

That the middle groups for both age and education showed positive effect on the RES scale is due to the nature of the RES scale, since it measures resistance to change. Also, for education, the middle group is actually more resistant to change than the less educated group. People in their middle ages and people who graduated from high school or have a few years of college, while not being overtly racist, may perceive that they have something to lose by changes in the racial status quo.

Urban residence at age 16 displayed a negative impact on OFR (-0.27) and RES (-0.30), and rural residence at age 16 displayed a positive effect on OFR (0.15) and RES (0.16). Also, it is interesting to compare the relative differences between the two scales for each variable. Residence at 16 is the only variable that displayed a greater difference for RES (actual 0.46 and beta 0.15) than OFR (actual 0.42 and beta 0.11). For the other variables, the actual difference and beta for RES is smaller than OFR.

It is also useful to compare the beta scores for all of the independent variables. The beta score represents the slope of a relationship with a higher number showing a steeper slope, and the steeper the slope, the greater the dependent variable changes with changes in the independent variable. Listed in order from strongest to weakest for the OFR scale is: Age (0.28), Region (0.22), Education (0.20), Residence at 16 (0.11), current residence (0.07) and income (0.04). Using the same criteria for the RES scale, the list is; Age (0.24), Education (0.17), Region (0.17) Residence at 16 (0.15), current residence (0.04) and income (0.03). The beta scores show that, for the OFR scale, Residence at 16 has a modest slope when compared with age, region and education, but for the RES scale the differences is much smaller (only .02 difference between residence at 16 and region and education. Therefore, for the RES scale, residence at 16 is comparable in it's effect with region and education.

Finally, the R squared for the OFR scale is considerably higher than the R squared for the RES scale. Using the same variables, more of the variance is explained for the OFR scale than the RES scale.

The MCA analysis shows that southerners, people with less than 12 years of education, rural residents at age sixteen, and people over sixty years of age have the highest levels of old fashioned racist attitudes and are the most resistant to change. Also, urban residents at age sixteen,

people with sixteen and more years of education, those under twenty nine years old and nonsoutherners have the lowest levels of old fashioned racist attitudes and are least resistant to change.

Discussion

The overriding purpose for this research is to explore the relationship between place of residence and attitudes towards minorities. Does a relationship exist? How do current residence and residency at an early age compare in their effects on attitudes? Finally, what are the relative effects of urban residence on racial attitudes compared with other related variables. This paper outlined the three different theoretical perspectives concerning urban rural differences (deterministic, compositional and subcultural). Next, a theoretical argument composed of a variety of deterministic theories was outlined and two specific hypotheses to be tested were set forth. Finally, the analysis was conducted in such a way that would distinguish the relative effects of each perspective. What do the results demonstrate?

First, the results show support for two competing theoretical perspectives; compositional and urban experience. Since the relationship between place of residence and the scales, illustrated in Table 3., for current residence disappears when the control variables are introduced in Table 4., the compositional argument is supported. The demographic

difference between urban and rural residence explains the relationship away. On the other hand, since the relationship between residence at sixteen and the scales remained after the control variables are accounted for, the urban experience perspective is supported.

Additionally, the direction of the relationship was consistent with the hypotheses presented earlier. Those respondents who were urban residents at age sixteen are less overtly racist and less resistant to change than those respondents who were rural residents at age sixteen. In comparison to the other control variables residence at age 16 is the weakest, but the differences are not extreme. The beta for residence at 16 for the RES scale are only .02 below both education and region - two very strong predictors of racial attitudes. This supports the argument that residence at sixteen is a useful concept when explaining racial attitudes.

No support was found for the subcultural approach. There was not a significant difference between current urban and rural residents. A large part of the subcultural argument rests on the presence of cultural diffusion. If there is no significant difference between current urban and rural residents, there is only a weak or no subculture present in urban centers that affects racial attitudes. There is however a significant difference between people who were urban and rural residents at age sixteen. Since over fifty percent of the urban residents at sixteen are no longer urban residents

(see table 1), the difference must be due to the lasting effects of urban residence. While residency at age 16 is useful in distinguishing the differences between the various perspectives, it's inclusion in the present study also allows for a discussion of the nature of the relationship between the urban experience and attitudes.

Essentially, the argument and hypotheses presented earlier assume that the urban experience has lasting social psychological effects on the individual. The results show that the greatest effect of the urban experience is associated with the earlier stages of a person's life. These findings support the findings of Stephan and McMullin (1982), who found that residence at sixteen was a stronger predictor of tolerance for sexual nonconformity than current residence. For racial attitudes, the results seem to illustrate that some of the values that affect these attitudes are shaped early in an individual's life and have lasting effects. Urban residence appears to affect these values. Conversely, adult residency in a large urban area has little or no effect on the same values and attitudes.

Further support for the value - socialization effect of the urban experience can be found by comparing the relative differences between the scales. It should be remembered that, the R squared for the RES scale is lower than the R squared for the OFR scale. It seems fair to conclude that the RES scale measures a more complex mixture of attitudes, than the

OFR scale. It may be that the OFR scale measures relatively simple antiblack feelings, while the RES scale taps into individuals beliefs regarding government action, justice and stratification (Kluegel and Smith;1983). Simply put, an individual can have many and varied justifications for resisting or not showing support for social change, but far fewer justifications are needed to be a bigot. Since Residence at 16 displayed a greater difference for the RES scale compared to the OFR scale than the other independent variables, it may be measuring basic values formed in early socialization.

Conclusion

This research suggests a number of propositions regarding the relationship between place of residence and racial attitudes. First, the subcultural perspective does not appear to be very effective regarding the OFR and RES scales. Second, the compositional perspective is useful in explaining a great deal of the relationship between current urban residence and racial attitudes.

The urban experience perspective and the hypotheses drawn from it were supported, but only using residence at age 16. This illustrates the interesting relationship between place of residence, age and attitudes. It seems that if one experiences urban life at an early age, it has lasting effects on attitudes. But, if the urban experience is later in life, it has little or no effect on racial attitudes. This shows

support both for the urban experience and the lasting effects of early socialization arguments.

Since it is apparent that the urban experience is a useful concept concerning racial attitudes, there are many possible directions in which the research regarding these phenomena may proceed. First, remember that only the two extreme types of urban and rural residence were utilized for comparison. It would be interesting to explore the nature to which smaller urban communities conform to the urban experience model. What effect does living in a community, of 100,000 people or 40,000, have on racial attitudes? Of course at this point, terms like urban and rural begin to lose their intuitive appeal. In this, we would be attempting to define how the factors of the urban experience distribute themselves over the entire population spectrum.

The General Social Survey does not offer a direct measure of most of the factors that define the urban experience. Perhaps a method needs to be developed to explore the degree to which the five factors of the urban experience are present throughout communities of all sizes.

It's important to address the questions proposed at the outset. The effect of the urban experience on racial attitudes appears to be a liberalizing one, in that urban experience at an early age causes people to be less overtly prejudiced and antiblack and also to be more progressive and willing to act on behalf of racial justice and equality. The effects of

current residence are much weaker than residence at an earlier age. Using both the significance levels in Table 4. and the betas and adjusted deviations in Table 5, residence at 16 is far superior to current residence as a predictor of racial attitudes. The impact of urban residence at sixteen was weaker than the control variables on the MCA table, meaning that it does not have as strong effect on racial attitudes as region, age or education. It would be misleading to assume that since, demographic variables affect racial attitudes stronger than urban residence, urban residence is not a useful concept.

On the contrary, since residence at sixteen has lasting effects on racial attitudes, controlling for the effect of demographic variables, and the direction of the relationship is consistent with the urban experience argument, the factors that make up the urban experience have a powerful effect on individuals.

Appendix A.

Racial Attitude Variables

Two six-point scales were constructed by the author from the NORC data to measure OFR and RES. The scales were constructed primarily from a theoretical perspective using factor analysis for verification and modification. The factorial loading and Eigen values are presented in Table A.1. The OFR scale is very similar to scales of the same name used by McCohanay (1976). The RES scale is unique to this study, but relies heavily on the theoretical work of Shuman, Steeh and Bobo (1985).

Old Fashioned Racism Scale OFR

1. RACSEG. White people have a right to keep (negroes/blacks) out of their neighborhood if they want to, and (negroes/blacks) should respect that right.
Yes = 1. No = 0.

2. RACPRES. If your party nominated a (negro/black) for President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?
Yes = 0. No = 1.

3. RACDIN. How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a (negro/black) friend home to dinner?
Strongly =1. Somewhat strongly =1. Not at all =0.

4. RACMAR. Do you think there should be laws against marriages between (negroes/blacks) and whites?
Yes = 1. No = 0.

5. SCHOLKID. Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are black?
Yes = 1. No = 0.

6. RACSCHOL. Do you think white students and black students should go to the same schools or separate schools?
Same Schools, Separate Schools.
Separate = 1. Same = 0.

Resistance to Pro action Scale RES

1. CLUB. If you and your friends belonged to a social club that would not let (negroes/blacks) join, would you try to change the rules so that (negroes/blacks) could join?
Yes = 0. No = 1.

2. RACPUSH. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted.
Agree = 1. Disagree = 0.

3. BUSING. In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of (negro/black) and white children from one district to another?
Favor = 0. Oppose = 1.

4. NATRACE. I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much, too little or about the right amount on improving the conditions of blacks?
Too much = 1. About the right amount = 0. Too little = 0.

5. RACSUBS. Some religious and business groups have set up programs to encourage (negro/black) families to buy houses in white suburbs. Do you favor or oppose these voluntary programs to integrate white suburbs?
Favor = 0. Oppose = 1.

6. RACSUBGV. What about the city governments in white suburbs? Do you think they should encourage (negro/black) people to buy homes in the suburbs, should they discourage them, or should they leave it to private efforts?
Discourage = 1. Leave to private efforts = 1. Encourage = 0.

Table A.1. Factor Loading

	OFR	RES
Racschol	.757	.031
Racmar	.712	.112
Scholkid	.711	-.085
Racdin	.679	.173
Racpres	.641	.188
Racseg	.634	.362
Racsubgv	-.244	.662
Racsubs	.362	.607
Club	.390	.592
Natrace	.175	.575
Racpush	.413	.545
Busing	-.024	.500
Eigen values	OFR = 4.08	RES = 1.57

Table A.1 shows the factor loading for the two scales. For the OFR scale, all of the items have loadings of .6 or higher on the OFR scale. They also load very low on the RES scale with the highest being .36. The remaining five items load below .2 on the RES scale.

The items on the RES scale load above .5 on the RES scale. The highest loading for these items on the OFR scale is .41. This represents sufficient difference in the loading to conclude that these two scales measure two distinct factors of racial attitudes.

References

- Abrahamson, Mark and Valerie J. Carter. 1986. "Tolerance, Urbanism and Region." American Sociological Review 51:287-294.
- Anderson, Nels. 1962. "The Urban Way of Life." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 3:175-88.
- Carter, Lewis. 1971. "Inadvertent Sociological Theory." Social Forces 50:12-25.
- Case, Charles, Greeley, A. Fuchs, S. 1989. "Social Determinants of Racial Prejudice." Sociological Perspectives 32:469-483.
- Condran, John. 1979. "Changes in White Attitudes Toward Blacks:1963-1977." Public Opinion Quarterly 43:463-476.
- Firebaugh, Glenn and Kenneth Davis. 1988. "Trends in Antiblack Prejudice, 1972-1984: Region and Cohort Effects." American Journal of Sociology 94:251-72.
- Fischer, Claude. 1971. "A Research Note on Urbanism and Tolerance." American Journal of Sociology 76:847-56.
- _____. 1975. The Urban Experience. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Gans, Herbert. 1962a. The Urban Villagers New York:Free Press.
- Gans, Herbert. 1962b. "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Reevaluation of Definitions." Pp. 625-48 in Human Behavior and Social Processes, edited by Arnold M. Rose. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
- Glenn, Norval and Jon Alston. 1967. "Rural- Urban Differences in Reported Attitudes and Behavior." The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 47:381-400.
- Glenn, Norval and Lester Hill. 1977. "Rural- Urban Differences in Attitudes and Behavior in the United States." The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science 429:36-50.
- Guterman, Stanley. 1969. "In Defense of Wirth's Urbanism as a way of Life." American Journal of Sociology 74:492-99.
- Lerner, Daniel. 1958. The Passing of Traditional Society. New York: The Free Press.

- McCohanay, J.B. and Hough. 1976. "Symbolic Racism." Journal of Social Issues 32:23-45.
- McCohanay, J.B. 1982. "Self Interest versus Racial Attitudes as Correlates of Anti-Busing Attitudes in Louisville: Is It the Buses or the Blacks." The Journal of Politics 44:693-720.
- Nelson, Hart and Yokely Raytha. 1970. "Civil Rights Attitudes of Rural And Urban Presbyterians." Rural Sociology 35:161-74.
- Rogers, Everett. 1962. Communication of Innovations: A Cross Cultural Approach. New York: The Free Press.
- Schuman, Howard, Charlotte Steeh, and Lawrence Bobo. 1985. Racial Attitudes in America. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Simmel, Georg. [1905] 1950. "Metropolis and Mental Life." In Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities. edited by Richard Sennet, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Stephen, Edward and McMullin, Douglas. 1982. "Tolerance of Sexual Nonconformity: City size as a Situational and Early Learning Determinant." American Sociological Review 47:411-415.
- Stouffer, Samuel. 1955. Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties. Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday.
- Taylor, Garth, Sheatlsey, P. Greeley, A. 1978. "Attitudes towards Racial Integration." Scientific American 238:42-49.
- Tittle, George. 1989. "Influences on Urbanism: A Test of Predictions from Three Perspectives." Social Problems 36:270-283.
- Tuch, Steven. 1987. "Urbanism, Region and Tolerance Revisited: The case of Racial Prejudice." American Sociological Review 52:504-510.
- Tumin, Melvin. 1958. Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Willits, Fern, Robert Bealer and Donald Crider. 1973. "Leveling of Attitudes in Mass Society: Rurality and Traditional Morality in America." Rural Sociology 38:36-45.
- Wilson, Thomas. 1985a. "Urbanism and Tolerance: A Test of Some Hypothesis drawn from Wirth and Stouffer." American Sociological Review 50:117-23.

- _____. 1986. "Community Population Size and Social Heterogeneity: An Empirical Test." American Journal of Sociology 91:1154-69.
- _____. 1991. "Urbanism, Migration, and Tolerance: A Reassessment." American Sociological Review 56:117-123.
- Wirth, Louis. 1938. "Urbanism as a way of Life." American Sociological Review 44:3-24.